by the league?

Lansing: Yes. Hitchcock: Abrogated, then, upon the attification of this treaty by Japan?

Lansing: Yes.
Senator McCumber (N. D.): Provided
they are in conflict with it?

Hitchcock: They are specifically de-

of the league covenant reads, the im-

New: Would it not be well to arrive

at a complete understanding and avoid future disagreements to set forth all the

regional understandings that are to b

ereafter observed? Lansing: You mean in the league?

New: Yes. The Monroe Doctrine

Tacitly Indorses Reservation.

Lansing: It might have been well

That is a matter of opinion, that is all. New: Well, are we to understand that

in joining the league with that article phrased as it is we accept that defini

New: That it is a regional under standing.

Lansing: Yes, I should think so. It

New: I think we are alike on that

None of us ever heard of it. Borah: The press attributed it to

ol. House. McCumber: It is an understanding

tain portions of East Africa.

Senator Knox: Liberia? Lansing: Liberia is another.

uttnued from First Page.

Lodge: May I ask if you ever my

d to the Commission on the of Nations. It was not pre-Lodge: Did you ever prepare a draft

aneins: No.
enator Horah (Idaho): Mr. Secre, could you tell us the difference been the plan which the Americans
ented and the one which was finally Lansing: No, I do not think I could

because they were along the same gen eral line.

Borah: Do you remember any distinguishing features between them?

U. S. Plan Not Pressed. Lansing: No. I cannot recall now. It has very early in the proceedings and he American plan was not pressed. Borah: No print of it that you know

was ever made? Lansing: I do not think it was ever

printed.
Senator Brandegee (Conn.): I understood the President to say last March at the meeting to which Senator Lodge has referred that these four plans wer discussed before the conference.

Lansing: Not before the conference.

Brandegee: And that he said the American plan was put aside and the ritish plan adopted-or the Gen. Smuts plan—with some medification. I had assumed that he meant there were four plans before the conference, Lansing: No, they were never read before the conference. Brandegee: What plans were consid-

Lansing: That I do not know. Brandegee: You say you did not draft a plan. Did not you suggest a plan or lay something before our commission, whether you drafted it or not, in the way of a plan?

y or a plan; lensing; Not of a general plan, no. Brandegee: What did you lay before e commission in the way of sugges-

Lansing: It covered the general prindies on which the league was to be Brandegee: Have you that documen

Brandegee: I should like to have it.

Brandegee: It was not favorably considered was it? Of course, it was not Brandegee: Do you know who drew

se plan that Mr. Wilson calls the merican plan? Lansing: No. I do not. hat you assumed that he drafted

Lansing: I did assume so.

destroyed, it was so absurd? Lansing: No. I never heard any such

about two days after we landed. Brandegee: Did you study it the oghly or just glance over it? Lansing: The President read it. Did you study it thor-

Lansing: The President read it.
Brandesee: How did it impress you?
I mean, do you think the present plan
is better than the one that the President calls the American plan?
Lansing: I do not quite catch that.
Brandesee: I do not want you to damn the American plan with faint praise, but I want to know what is your opinion as to the respective merits of the two.

Lansing: I know it we never knew that it was not that it was not that brought to the State Department?

Secretary Hasy is Mr. Lansing: I know it we never knew that it was not that bid or something in the nata spaint the Lansing in the or something in the nata spaint the Lansing is know it we never knew that it was not that bid or something in the nata spaint that brought to the State Department?

Secretary Hasy is Mr. Lansing: I know it we never knew that it was not that it was not that brought to the state Department?

Secretary Hasy is Mr. Lansing: I know it we never knew that it was not that the president calls in the president calls in

Lansing: I think, it is a decided im Brandegee: This is a better one?

Lansing: Yes. Brandegee: But you do not know who

Brandegee: But you do not know who drew the American plan?
Lansing: I do not.
Brandegee: I have here the New York 50N of August 5, 1919, in which there is an editorial entitled "The Facts, President Wilson, Give Us the Facts," I do not ask that the whole editorial be printed in the Record, but there is one particular paragraph that interested me. It was a despatch from Paris quoted from the New York Times stating substantially that Clemenceau had laid before the committees on treaties of the mantially that Clemenceau had laid be-fore the committees on treaties of the Prench Senate and the French Chamber of Deputies a cable from President Wil-son requesting him not to make public any of the notes or documents in rela-tion to this treaty. It is uncertain whether we can have access to docu-ments that we would like to see, is it not?

Can't Submit Documents.

Lansing: Yes, of course, if they re-lated to certain matters we would have to get the permission of the other Govonts to submit them.

Brandagee: The witness who was here Preserday. Mr. Davis, stated that his records were arriving every day and he was going to produce some here. Can he not do that without getting permission from the other Governments?

Lansing: I have no doubt, so far as reports are concerned.

reports are concerned.
Senator Pomerene (Ohio): Let me suggest that as I understand it Mr.
Davis told us that he kept copies and that it was these copies to which he referred.

Brandesse: If he could not produce the originals of course he could not produce copies either without the consent of the other members of the commission. It is the other members of the commission. It is the information he is to give us no matter whether it is the first, second or third copy. If it was impossible for him to produce the originals he could not produce copies. That is all I said. Senstor Harding (Ohio): I want to sak the Secretary, in view of the character of the league covenant and all that it seeks to do in open relationship, can you tell me what character of discussion was going on there that makes it inadvisable to let the various nations understand?

Larsing: No, I cannot tell you, bestiase, as I say, I was not a member of that commission and I have never looked at their minutes and in fact know nothing about their records. I made that as a general remark applying to "erything." Brandegee: If he could not produce

Senator Borah: Where is Col. House

Lansing: I suppose he is in England.

Lensing: I suppose he is in England.

Borah: Does he expect to return to his country soon?

Lansing: Not to my knowledge. I ave had no communication with him.

Borah: Mr. Secretary, if this subject as been ended I desire to ask in regard another feature of the proceedings at termilies and to go back a little. If I member correctly what was known as

the Lansing-Ishii agreement was made about November 2, 1917? Lansing: Yes.

Inquiries About Agreements. Borah: At the time that agreement was entered into what knowledge if any did the State Department have with reference to the secret agreements between Greet Britain and Japan, France and Japan, Russia and Japan and Italy and Japan?

Lansing: I should have to look the Lansing: I should have to look the matter up before I could give you a definite answer in regard to that.

Forah: Then you likely would be able to state after investigating the matter just what information was in the State Department at that time?

Lansing: Yea. Borah: I presume you had full information with reference to what was known as the twenty-one demands at that time, had you not?

Borah: It it is permissible to so state, did the discussion turn upon those twenty-one demands? Did it enter into the discussion at all with reference to

Lansing: Never.
Borah: In view of those twenty-one demands, what construction e upon the question of Japan's speciaterest in China? Lansing: Only the special interest that comes from being contiguous to another country whose peace and pros-

Borah: No different special interest from that which we have in Canada? Lansing: No.

Borah: Or in Mexico? Lansing: Exactly.

Borah: It was at no time understood

by the State Department that the Lan-sing-Ishli agreement was in any sense an indersoment of the programme which Japan had apparently initiated at that time under her twenty-one demands.

Opposed to 21 Demands.

Lansing: Absolutely not. We were opposed to the twenty-one demands. Borah: And I presume you could also state that it was in no sense an incorsement of anything which has since developed under the secret agreements? Lansing: Oh, no, nothing.

Borah: If you had known of those secret agreements would you likely have entered into that agreement with Japan? Lensing: I think so.

Lensing: I think so. Pomerene (addressing Mr. Borah): elator, in order to make the record entirely clear, you mean the secret agree-ments between Japan, Great Britain France and Italy?

Borah: Yes, I mentioned that just Pomerene: I had overlooked that.

Borah: Whatever may be the con struction of the Lansing-Ishii agreemen in Japan or China, it should not from the standpoint of the State Department be construed in America as indorsing anything in the nature of the programme which Japan has under the secret agree

ments? Lansing: You are quite correct about that. I think I can say, although would like to refresh my memory and would be subject to correction later, that one of the very reasons why that Lansing-Ishii agreement was entered into was on account of the twenty-one de-mands and the attitude that Japan was taking toward China in order to secure from Japan a redeclaration of the oper door policy, which she did in that agree

Borah: It would seem, then, that it Borah: It would seem, then, that if the secret agreements had been known at the State Department at that time the State Department would likely have written that Lansing-Ishii agreement in different terms, would it not? Lansing: Well, I do not know. No, I do not see why we should. Borah: It is a fact that at that time

Brandegee: Did you never hear that it was drafted by two New York lawyers for him and taken over there by him?

I think that is not the properties of the properties of the countries by which it was understood and agreed that certain territorial stood and agreed that certain territorial transfer and certain rights in China the properties and certain rights in China Brandegee: And that that plan was should be given to her at the close of the stroyed, it was so absurd?

Lansing: No. I never heard any such the fact that as soon as the Lansing-Brandegee: And that the other plan was got up afterward—the one that Mr. Wilson calls the American plan—by other people?

Langing. 1

Langing. 1

Langing. 1

China.

Borah: Yes, and the twenty-one de-

never knew that it was in China. Borah: Did not China issue a protest or something in the nature of a protest against the Lansing-Ishii agreement, and was not that brought to the attention of

Secretary Hazy in Answers. Mr. Lansing was very hazy in his an-owers on these points. He continually

told the committee he would have to re-fresh his memory. He said he took no part in the discussion by which the Shantung affair was finally settled. He said he had filed no statement in regard to it, but that Gen. Bliss has written a letter to the President. Who signed the letter? Senator Borah

Lansing : Gen Bliss. Borah: Did the letter purport to be written on the part of any one other

Lansing: Yes on the part of Mr. White and myself. Borah: Can you recall in a general

way the contents of the letter?
Lansing: I should not want to as it
was a letter between Gen. Bliss and Borah: Is there any copy of it in the State Department? Lansing: There may be. I am not

Borah: Is it available for the comnittee?

Lansing: No, not from me. It is

test against what is known as the set-tlement of the Shantung affair? Lansing: No. Borah; What was the nature of it

Lansing: The President had conferred with the commissioners in my office in connection with the Japanese situation connection with the Japanese situation and after we had expressed our general view in regard to the matter the President wanted to know if we would communicate them in writing. Gen Bliss prepared a letter and showed it to Mr. White and myself, and we said we concurred in it and there was no reason why we should write separate letters as we had nothing to add to it. That was some days before the Shantung state-ment. It was a matter of advice, as to

our advice to the President.

Borah: Did the advice correspond with what was afterward accomplished?

Borah : Why is not that letter avail Lansing: You must ask the President that. He has the letter.

Borah: Oh, he has it, has he?

Lansing: It was sent to him. I as-

sume he has it.

Borsh: Did you see a meme which
was filed by the experts who were advising the commission with reference to Far Eastern affairs concerning the at tempt of the Japanese delegate to con-trol the Chinese settlement and to in-timicate the Chinese representatives with reference to Shantung?

Does Not Recall Memo Lansing: Well, I would not say that saw such a memo exactly as you de-scribe it because we had numerous

ook in its general nature of a descrip tion or an account of the action of the Japanese delegates toward the Chinese delegates with reference to Shantung?

Shantung matter and its being made public Senator Borah asked: At the time that China broke off her diplomatic re-lations with Germany were any assur-ances given to China, either directly or States taking an interest in Chinese affairs at Versailles and seeing that her this were protected? Lansing: I cannot recall.

Borah: The record of that would be in the State Department if any such in-

of that and also make a note of the fact. Japan a guarantee to return the sna as to whether that assurance was restated at the time that China actually by Germany prior to the war to China declared war against Germany. These are all the questions I desire to ask you. United States, do you mean?

been any note or intimation—I will not undertake to describe the form—of any such an effort.

Lansing: Yes, I do not wish to consort from Japan that she would regard Lausing: Yes, I do not wish to co States or its nationals to lend money to do so.
China as interfering with Japanese there.
Senator New: I understand; but it is China as interfering with Japanese there.
Senator New: I underst
tending to create disturbance, and that it
might be brought up under Article 15 of
large upon that a little?

not, Mr. Secretary, that under the demands that were made upon China by
Japan in 1915, called commonly the that on account of its being a matter entwenty-one demands, one was that if tirely with the President, but I did no railroads and the development of her allroads and the development of her re-ources she must first apply to Japan? Lansing: Yes. Knox: Might not that raise a ques-

on that would go to the League of Na- rect. is it not? Lansing: You know she modified in the morning papers, that is all.

Lansing: Yes, that is my recollection. I should like to make a full report on

the twenty-one demands. Claimed Special Interest.

Knox: As I recollect it the claim of which you acknowledge is for a special interest throughout China entirely.

Knox: Covering the whole of China Lansing: Yea. Knox: Had not her previous claims of ecial interest been limited to Man

except it was stated that it was on ac-count of the contiguity of territory, and that would naturally apply to Man-

Knox: My recollection is that as far back as 1912 Japan formulated and pre-sented a claim of special interest, prac-tically in the language of the Lansing-Ishii agreement, except that she limited her special interest to Manchuria. She did not present it as to other portions of continental China. Have you any recollection about that?

Lansing: No. I have not. Senator New (Ind.): Mr. Secretary do you know when Chian learned of the

Lansing: No. sir.

New: Did China at any time make any appeal to the United States with reference to the protection of her territorial interests at the time of the Peace Conference, asking for the good offices of the United States.

Lansing: I do not think there was anything formal. Of course, China's delegates asw the delegates of the United States and discussed the matter.

United States and discussed the matte with them.

New: And it was in the nature of an

informal appeal, was it?
Lansing: I do not want to call it an appeal. It was a discussion of the question just in the same way that the Japanese delegates discussed the queslon.
New: How did the United States mee

that appeal?
Lansing: The United States could ac nature of the conference between dele-gates of the American commission and or the Chinese commission which took

New: Did the United States seek to

nfluence China to enter the war on the ide of the Allies?

Lansing: I would like to make a report on that, too. I cannot recall just what the course was and I am afraid I might make a statement that would not be in Lansing: I have no recollection of such memo.

After some discussion of the time.

is a regional understanding. It is a phrase that I was not familiar with until it appeared in the covenant. New: Who originated that phrase? Lansing: I have not the slightest Lansing : Yes Senator New: You do not know then whether the President or the American envoys at any time sought to obtain from Japan a guarantee to restore the Province of Shantung to China? Lansing: I knew there was such as fort made.

New: Are you at liberty to state the

character and conditions of it?

Lansing: No I am not, because it wa ade entirely by the President. New: But it was made?

quite understand what the effort was to Lansing: Yes.

Borah: I wish you would make a note f that and also make a note of the fact.

My which Senator New referred.

Senator New: An effort to obtain from that and also make a note of the fact. tung province and territory that was held Senator New; Yes. Senator Hitchcock (Neb.): And the

understood that you will endeavor to en Lansing: I never heard of such a ling: No, I cannot do that. That is a matter with which the President alone had to do.

Senator Knox (Pa.): It is true, is it of, Mr. Secretary, that under the

be gathered from the word "effort. Senator New: You do know that as a matter of fact up to this time no such guarantee has been given. That is corNew: That informal statement of the objection to using the term re-

gional?

Lansing: I am not objecting.

New: I do not know that it is much an objection as it is to ask information.

McCumber: We do not have to o Knew of No Other Pacts.

Senator Moses (N. H.) asked if there very heavily on our understanding to know what regional means. Pomerene: Nor what the Monroe Docwere more secret engagements between any of the Allies of which the United States was unaware. Borah: But it would require a good

After some discussion on this head Senator Borah said: I want to ask a question in connection with this same subject with reference to the phrase "regional understanding" in Article XXI. Would that phrase cover the secret

Mr. Lansing was questioned about the agreement under which the islands of the Pacific were to go to Great Britain, but he knew little about it. He was asked about the plans to try the Kaiser, and said he would submit the report of the commission on responsibilities and the reservations made by the American agreement or these special agreements between Japan and Great Britain? Are not those regional understandings? Lansing: Well, I confess I do not Senator Hitchcock: Do you consider those secret treatles in effect now? Lansing: I suppose they are.
Hitchcock: Would they be in the advent of the adoption of the League of

delegates, Next the committee turned to the seven treatles of peace, being particu-larly interested in why the United States should sign the treatles with Turkey and Bulgaria, with whom America was not at war. Mr. Lansing said this was be-cruse the President wanted to take part in the negotiations with those countries and it was necessary to sign the treaty

Then Senator Moses asked Mr. Lanportance in studying the treaty. Mr. Lansing was doubtful of the propriety of doing this unless the other Governments gave their consent. This colloquy fol-

are in conflict with it?

New: Mr. Secretary, as Article XXL. Senator Moses: But this is the day of plication is that there are so-called regional understandings other than the Monroe Doctrine. Can you tell us what 'cpen covenants, openly arrived a Senator Harding: That is like the

passing of "dollar diplomacy." Senator Pomerene: Bear in mind the irritation it would be to certain Senators some of these regional understandings Lansing: Yes, Morocco, Egypt, cerif they did not get it.

Lansing: Then it is a question of irritation between Senators or Governments,

Pomerene: Both are to be considered.

Moses: Mr. Lansing, there once was
a maxim of the American diplomatic serice that there were no secrets between a diplomatic representative and his Gov-ernment, and I am assuming that in the present instance the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and the Senate itself are a portion of the Government in its treaty making functions, and that the old maxim of there being no secrets be-

Lansing: Yes, but you notice it is lim-

phrased as it is we accept that defini-tion of the Monroe Doctrine? Lansing: What definition do you Moses: Well, the plenipotentiaries at

Lansing: Yes. Moses: And I assume that the Senate

in its treaty making functions is at the present minute the Government.

Lansing: Yes.

Moses: So I hope the old maxim that used to apply when I knew more about the service than I do to-day still applies.

Lansing: Yes. Lansing: Yes.

Inquiries About 14 Points. Senator Johnson: Did you have foundation or a basis on which it was agreed you would act in the proceedings at Paris?

that covers a certain region.
Lansing: That is it.
McCumber: There is no objection to calling the Monroe Doctrine a regional understanding if it covers the Western Lansing: I must confess that I do not ulte understand your question. Johnson: Did you have fourteen points that you were going to take as the Hemisphere.
The Chairman: With whom is the basis for your activities in the Peace Conference in Paris?

understanding?

McCumber: If the rest of the world agrees to it there is an understanding.

The Chairman: They have not, yet.

McCumber: This treaty is supposed to obtain their acquiescence in it.

The Chairman: Then it will not be Lansing: Yes.
Johnson: Had it been agreed among
the American delegates that those fourteen points should be the mode and the neasure of the peace?

Lansing: I do not think it was dis-

a regional understanding until the treaty is agreed to. Senator Williams: Call it by that Johnson: It was not discussed at all? Lansing: No. Johnson: Was there any agreement in order to keep it from being as to any particular policy that should be pursued or did you wait until you reached Paris and then expect to be McCumber: My question is; what is

guided by the circumstances and exi-gencies as they arose? Was there any-thing in the President's instructions touching the fourteen points that had been laid down as to insistence on those coints by the American delegation prior

Johnson: Any agreement or any understanding among the peace delegates prior to sitting at Parls as to the draft of a leageu of nations?

Laneing: Yes.
Johnson: Was the draft agreed upon by the American delegates prior to the neeting of the conference at Paris? Lansing: No, because what we had Johnson: That is what I mean. Had

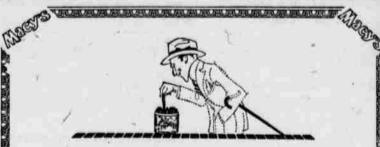
you agreed on an American plan?

Lansing: Not definitely.
Johnson: Tentatively?
Lansing: Well, possibly. It was largely, of course, in the hands of the President, under whose instructions we were and who gave oral instructions to

that you saw that plan? Lansing: I did.

Johnson: You read it? Lansing: Yes. Johnson: Generally speaking, you re-call what was in it, do you not? I am not examining you now as to what

was in it, but do you not recall gen-erally what was in it? Lansing: Well, I have rather a hazy idea because it was not followed up.
Johnson: What do you mean by
was not followed up?"



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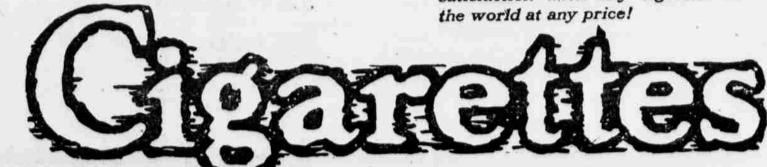
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